/136 cont./

162 The approximate number of Auin, naturally in the form of the very roughest estimate, is apparent from the following compilation:

There reside in the region of

Oas	about	300 persons
Dawis	"	150 "
Stampriet	"	250 "
Rooigrauwater	"	50 "
Korikas	"	150 "
Olifantskloof	"	200 "
Habakobis	"	100 "
Rietfontein	"	200 "
Tjumda	"	100 "
Go	"	150 "
Sidonitzaub	"	1,000 "
Karasburg	"	100 "
Epukiro	"	100 "
Ganab	"	100 "
Gam	"	100 "
Total	about	3,000 persons

[114] In my opinion the number of Bushmen living in the Kalahari (not only the Auin) has been consistently underestimated.

I wrote these lines in October, 1908. Today, in other words, ● 165 not yet a year later, I am forced to change my opinion, since 161 the malaria of the last rainy season has taken many victims and has decimated the Auin as well as the other tribes. According to the figures provided, I consider myself justified in suggesting that of the Auin estimated above at 3,000, only about half at most remain.

648 It is impossible to obtain more precise statistics since the Bushmen successfully evade any kind of control. Even the administration of the protectorate takes account of this fact by dispensing from the outset with any registration or the like by the Kalahari Bushmen.

144 No special racial layers are to be distinguished among the Auin, although it is doubtless true that certain individuals can be shown to have more Negro blood than others.

/159 cont./

278 752 [411] Poisoned arrows shot into the chest and abdomen are described as unconditionally deadly. Arrow wounds on extremities, as well as very superficial ones, are supposed to be curable under certain circumstances if immediate help is provided.

[751] There is no inoculation against arrow poison.

[827] An older Auin suffering from badly inflamed eyes attributed this illness to an arrow wound he had received many years earlier. His statement, of course, cannot be verified.

● 165 Malaria is endemic and annually exacts many lives. The number of cases resulting in death was especially great in 1908-1909. Whole settlements are supposed to have died out. Epidemics were unknown even to the "oldest people."

Venereal diseases are blessings of civilization, but evidently not yet widespread.

731 Famine actually prevails every year toward the end of the dry season, especially if the preceding rainy season has been poor. During this time, almost all the Auin are emaciated to skeletons. Death by hunger is not supposed to /160/ occur. After all, the Bushman always finds something to eat, even if it is only grass seeds.

756 The so-called doctors decidedly possess great experience in medical matters, which, however, does not prevent them from practicing considerable charlatanism (see Section T).

W. Time Reckoning, Astonomy

805 The day is divided according to the position of the sun.

Certain time segments are indicated with great exactitude according to the position of the sun. If one asks a Bushman, "How far is it to the watering place?" he will point to the place in the sky that the sun will have reached by the time one gets there.

The concept of the month is known (gnui, "month").

The relation of the solar year to lunar months is unknown.

The Auin divides up the year, for which, incidentally, he has no definite, but rather only a very vague concept, as follows:

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[19 cont.]

approximate ages of the members:

162

	Horde I	Horde II	Horde III	Horde IV
Men	9	7	4	10
Old men	--	--	4	1
Women of child-bearing age	10	12	13	9
Matrons	4	9	7	6
Infants	6	6	7	2
Small children:				
Boys 1-4 years old	2	3	8	3
Girls 1-4 years old	3	4	6	1
Children:				
Boys 5-10 years old	4	4	?	?
Girls 5-10 years old	3	2	?	?
Young men	5	--	?	?
Young women	5	3	?	?

The above table thus has reference to 44 women capable of bearing children and to 38 marriages, of which two are polygamous. Four are widows. In these 38 marriages, there are 15 infants, mostly under one year old. To the extent it could be determined, 12 women were pregnant, and about five of them had [842] [853] older infants. It would seem, then, that nursing beyond one year affords no practical protection against a new conception.

833 183 The rule among the Nog-au that cohabitation with the mother may be renewed only when the baby is able to sit is well known, but it is not particularly observed.

165 With these 15 infants there should accordingly be 45 small children from one to four years old; in actual fact, however, there are only 30 small children, which gives an infant mortality rate of 33 per cent. This rate is no higher than is to be expected among primitive tribes in malaria regions; in fact, it is lower than in some native locations, such as East London.

/19 cont./

162 In the age group of five to ten years, the number re-
165 mains the same.

The mortality rate is therefore very low, as among us, in fact, even lower, since the dangerous infectious diseases of childhood are absent. Insofar as the few figures given here permit one to draw conclusions, the sex ratio is 1:1. It is impossible to say what the sex ratio is among the adults. A great number
[123] of the men disappeared when I arrived -- since most of them had a bad conscience and did not want to be pinned down either metrically or photographically. It is certainly clear, however, that the higher the age group, the greater is the excess of women.

/20/ Concerning the gray-haired individuals of an advanced age, in other words, over 60 years old, I counted four men and 13 women in the case of the four hordes mentioned above, in other words, a ratio of 1:3. As is the case among us, there, too, the women on the average reach a higher age.

161 C. v. François (1) on his journey to the Okovanggo in
[113]

1. Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, IV, 1891.

1891 estimated the population of the region at 500 Honigkaffir and Hei//om, 2,000 !Kung and 10,000 Okawango. The Bushman
[131] tribe of the Wasseckeri was supposed to live north of the Okovanggo, between the Kuando and Cuito. He calls the chief
133 of the northern !Kung the person best acquainted with the land, and this chief assured him that the water conditions had been much better in earlier times. Many of the vleis that are now dry formerly had water the year round. The Okaluombe (Apato) is supposed to have formerly flowed into the Ngami.

Theodor Leutwein (2) reports:

[113]

2. Elf Jahre Gouverneur in Deutsch-Südwestafrika /Eleven Years as Governor in German Southwest Africa/, Berlin, 1906.

648 "North of Grootfontein at Gaub, a place with ample
621 water, a number of Kaffir and Bushmen had formed a village and
622

[31 cont.]

582 unmarried. Marriage is concluded at an early age. The age that
165 Bushmen attain is not great. There are relatively few old people among them, although some of them, it is true, attain a very
593 high age. The children must obey their parents even when they are grown up and married.

888 The Bushmen indignantly denied that they kill the old people or expose them in the bush. If someone is old, weak, or ill, then they simply walk more slowly or leave the sick person behind with a companion. My informants did report to me that dur-
[731] ing periods of extreme thirst not only old people, but also women and children who were unable to move on were left behind. This happened only in desperate circumstances, when those who were half-dead from thirst could not be helped in any case and a stay would have resulted in death for the whole kin group. As soon
764 as someone has died, all the women and girls sit around the corpse and weep. There is no singing on this occasion. Then some of the men go and dig a grave in the bush, cut off medium-sized pieces of wood, and place these in the bottom of the grave as a foundation, over which is spread the hay that the deceased was lying on. Then all take the body to the grave and bury it in a crouched position with the back toward the sunrise. Every relative must give a few glass beads and ornaments if the deceased is a woman. This finery is placed around the neck of the deceased. The corpse is rubbed down with green aromatic powder and ocher and is wrapped in its hides and blankets. They either throw thorn on the covered grave or make a four-cornered gutter in the sand around the grave and posts are pounded into the gutter to make a fence. The grave is now in the center of the fence, like the living person in the center of his hut. A cup of water and some food are put near the head area. Deceased men have bows, arrows, and their hunting bag placed on the chest. Children are given their miniature bows. The Bushmen say that they give the bows and arrows not because the deceased needs them for hunting in the beyond, but because they do not want to use the effects of the deceased, whom they loved. According to Vedder (1), the dead

1. Von Zastrow and Vedder, Die Bushleute, pp. 420-421.

[33 cont.]

224 has done the shooting must go home immediately and may not speak, eat, or drink, for if the hunter speaks with others, the kudu will not be found for a long time, and if he drinks water, the poison will become watery and will not be effective, and if he eats, the kudu will remain quiet and the poison will not work effectively. The next morning very early we must set out on the trail. The kudu is already dead. The people carry the meat home. [782] Then it is put on the socha [sacred] fire. The //Gauab must be given some of the meat. Whoever does not do this will be punished by the //Gauab with serious illness, and the people will say: 'That is just. The //Gauab has given him the game, why does he give nothing for //Gauab?'" Here, therefore, a true primitial offering is involved.

It is interesting that the Ogowe bury arrows in the sand at various watering places, with the poisoned tip pointing upward; they do this in shady spots that game animals like to use as resting [202] places, and by certain signs, such as tying together blades of tall grass and the like, they set up warnings (Von Zastrow and Vedder).

When a Bushman horde of today is able to hunt down half a dozen large antelopes in a year, it can consider itself lucky.

The porcupine is also commonly hunted, as are the scaly anteater and the fat aardvark, which is very common but difficult to catch. Monkeys are very rare; on the other hand, tree rats make a desirable addition to the diet. The ostrich is not uncommon in open terrain, and ostrich eggs are greatly coveted. Occasionally a boa constrictor, which tastes like a fat fish, or an iguana may round out the menu.

136 Among the animals which are in any way dangerous to human beings, the lion should be mentioned in particular. They occur in great numbers, but rarely stay in one place for a long [165] period of time. A considerable number of Bushmen become their 262 victims, especially in the north. Lions, leopards, hyenas, and jackals are neither hunted nor eaten; the same is true concerning [153] birds of prey. Eating leopard meat produces fever and eczema, [825] while eating the flesh of birds of prey produces temporary blindness and symptoms of sickness similar to acute sausage poisoning.

Poisonous snakes are not eaten; they are much rarer here than in the stony regions of the central and southern areas, and they do not constitute a noteworthy danger.

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[46 cont.]

Infectious Diseases

164 The Bushmen are plagued by the two most dangerous chronic infectious diseases, tuberculosis and malaria. Leprosy is absent.

Malaria appears every year during the rainy season. Bisob [757] roots are then thrown in the fire, and the smoke is inhaled. Small [278] children more commonly die of it. I did not see any cases of black water fever or malarial cachexia.

Tuberculosis is the common cause of death among the [165] Bushmen. I saw bone tuberculosis and swellings of the glands, as well as advanced cases of lung and throat tuberculosis. The poor people are helpless, and the frequent colds further the process in a dangerous fashion. As nomads living in small groups, they are generally spared the epidemics of the Whites and Blacks. Once an epidemic has made its appearance among them, however, they die in great numbers. It is interesting to note that the Bushmen are aware that contagious diseases exist. As such, however, they only know the above-mentioned skin disease (gari).

753 The other infectious general diseases are explained as an attack by many spirits of sickness upon the horde.

Assistance at Birth

844 When a young woman anticipates her first confinement, she remains near the huts because she is afraid. The older women cheer her up, and then a resting place is made of dried grass. The [845] woman gives birth in a squatting position. In case of difficulties during delivery, the lower part of the body is massaged. Medicine or manual assistance to expedite the delivery is not given. The umbilical cord is cut off with a quartz knife and buried.

[47] Wounds and Injuries

752 The most dangerous injury a Bushman can receive is through a poisoned arrow. The poisoned arrow is cut out, a piece of wood is held in the fire until it glows, and then it is used to

606 his mother-law, it is necessary to speak to anybody in her hut, he will keep at a distance and depart as soon as he sees her approaching. They never refer to each other by name but always as " my son-in-law " or " my mother-in-law." The son-in-law does not associate with his father-in-law but similarly avoids him and should they meet accidently they may exchange greetings but no general conversation will take place nor will they look each other in the face.

847 Abortion is sometimes practised early in pregnancy in the case of both married and unmarried women. It is procured by external manipulation of the uterus and not through the agency of drugs.

844 A pregnant woman is generally treated with great consideration. For the first confinement it is customary for her to return to her mother's group. Among the *Hei-||om* the labour is conducted in the camp. Among the more primitive Kalahari Bushmen the woman leaves the camp as soon as the first symptoms appear and is attended to by her mother or some other old woman underneath a tree some distance away. Tufts of grass are uprooted and placed upside down on the tree as a warning to men that a labour is in progress. The mother returns to the camp immediately after the birth of the child and for a week or more subsequently is relieved of such duties as gathering wood and veldkos, fetching water, etc. In the event of a mother dying during childbirth the infant is reared by the grandmother or by some friend who desires a child. When it cannot be disposed of in this manner it is buried alive with the mother. Illegitimate births are not common among the primitive communities. When they do occur the children are usually put to death. Pregnancies follow in rapid succession during the course of married life but owing to the high mortality among infants caused by the strenuous conditions of life very few children survive. Further, among the Bushmen of the Kalahari child murder is practised. Children are suckled until they are able to walk well. If a new child is born while the last one is still on the breast it is buried alive in the nearest burrow or in a hole made for the purpose by the old woman who conducted the labour. When twins are born one is invariably killed. It is for these reasons that it is rare to find families of five or more children in the Kalahari. On an average only two or three children survive infancy and early childhood. Among the Bushmen of the Oschimpoloveld and Ovamboland larger families are met with. Brother and sister avoidance is met with in some but not in all tribes. There is no special ceremony in connection with the naming of children. Among the *Hei-||om* each child is generally given three names, namely a first name, a second name and a surname. Names are not given by the parents. The first name may be given by the father's mother and the second name by the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

Ukane had asked his wife if her brother had returned. She had answered "Yes," and Ukwane had composed the song about it out of guilt and sorrow.

"A Song of Shouting" was beautiful, too. When Ukwane had explained it to us and we had asked him to sing some more, he smiled at us and said that he was tired. But the day of jealousies, the fact that he had not found his piece of string, and the subject of his songs had put him in a mood, and presently he began to tell us what was in his heart.

He said that he was old and blind, and that he and his wife could no longer support one another but had to depend on Tsetchwe and Gai. Even Twikwe and Dasina were old and would not be strong much longer, and if Gai should leave them, perhaps to go to his Bakalahari father, the old people would perish surely.

Hearing Ukwane's cracked voice saying these sad things, his wife got up from her bed and sat beside him in silence. Soon Twikwe and Dasina joined him, too, so all the old people were there, crouching near the fire, their eyes gazing over its light out into the darkness.

Presently Dasina said: "It is bad to die because when you die you are all alone," and after being silent for a moment Ukwane told us how various members of his band, once a large one, had died, reducing their number to the hardy few who lived with him now. Both his father and his mother had died of thirst, and his children, his young nieces and nephews, and his grandchildren had all died in an epidemic of smallpox three years before. That had been a horrifying season, and in the hottest time, when the sun was drying them all and the ground was too hot to walk on, the smallpox had come, and pox had got into people's mouths so that they could not eat, and the children had all died one morning and their young mothers had died before night.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

The Medicine Bees

222 THE DAY after the dance was the day before we left Nama to return to the United States. In all the time that we had stayed at Nama we had not been to Gautscha Pan, and now Toma said he wanted to go there to gather honey from the Gautscha baobab tree. Before we left, he sat in his werf telling me stories of people who thought that they could climb baobab trees but whose self-confidence had been excessive, because they had all fallen, each and every one.

481 222 165 Steinbok Gumtsa was one of these, said Toma, and he was an excellent climber. Baobabs that others could not climb he managed, and ate honey from the upper branches every time. One day, while watching bees fly about the top of the very high baobab at Gautscha Pan, Steinbok Gumtsa thought to bring himself luck and said: "I am going to climb, but I will slip and fall and be killed." The others told him not to try it, but he did. "He thought he was too good," said Toma, "and that is why he did fall. The others found him dead at the bottom."

One-eyed Nishi was another good climber. He also tried to reach the honey in the top of the Gautscha baobab, but he slipped and fell and the other Bushmen found him dead at

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

the bottom too, "with his head driven down between his shoulders," said Toma laconically, hunching his own neck to show how it was.

A third man whom Toma did not name climbed for honey in the Gura baobab, a tree somewhat north of Gautscha Pan, and he also fell; but, happily, he survived his experience. His sister and her husband were below him, watching, and when they saw him fall they held out their arms to catch him. He fell through their arms, of course, but his fall was broken and though he was unconscious for a long time he finally did recover.

The moral of these stories, Toma said, was to show that young people should listen to older people and not act rashly. I believe that he thought I was going to try to climb the Gautscha baobab (which I had already done, though only to the lowest branch, fifteen feet from the ground), for he went on to say: "When Bushmen tell young people not to climb baobab trees they should listen. It is seldom that a person lives who falls from a baobab tree, they are so high. Even those good climbers I told you about, they all fell." I assured him that I did not even want to climb it and he said: "Good. When we who are experienced get the honey you can watch from below. Then you can see just as well."

The Gautscha baobab was somewhat east of the pan, and we could see it rising from the plain when we were almost a mile away from it. It loomed up at the horizon, towering, its mass of upper branches hazy because we were so far. As we moved toward it, it seemed to move away from us like a distant mountain, but gradually, after a long time, it began slowly to get larger, looming higher, its top branches reaching up to the sky, where the clouds of spring were already forming as the desert got ready for the rains, three months away.

844 she lies on her side. The umbilical cord is not tied, but cut with a knife; the Auen use the sharp edge of a reed for this purpose, never anything else. A plaster of mud and leaves is put on the baby's abdomen, if there is much bleeding. Before, during, and immediately after the birth the mother may not be washed with water, nor may the child, which is simply wiped off with the soft grass and put into its mother's kaross. Among the Auen, when birth is difficult or when, [845] [755] e.g., the woman is ill at the time of delivery, the magician is called in to lighten the process, which he attempts to do by sucking with his mouth at the vagina and by "murmuring spells". This is the only instance recorded of any magical assistance being given at birth.

Immediately after the child is born and wiped clean it is simply 846 put into the kaross of its mother, who then returns to the camp. Among the Heikum and the Auen she is now for a week or more relieved of her normal daily duties, such as gathering wood and veldkos, fetching water, etc. Among the Naron, however, she is said to resume her ordinary avocations immediately. Occasionally [845] harder births occur, and then the woman may be quiet for a few days, if she pulls through; but a really difficult birth means the death of both mother and child, as no method of helping is known save massage. In the event of the mother dying during or shortly after childbirth, [853] [847] some other woman may suckle the child and rear it, if it lives; but more often than not it is buried alive with its mother, especially among the wilder bands.

In this connection reference may be made to a practice recorded 853 by Seiner of the Kung, but not reported by any of the other writers on this or other tribes. He states the belief exists that if a child is placed too soon at its mother's breast both will die. Immediately after it is born the infant is therefore handed over to another woman to be suckled. Often enough, however, there is no suitable woman in the small band, and so the hungry infant makes futile attempts at several different dry breasts, to be returned finally, strengthless and dying, to the arms of its mother. He attributes the great infant [165] mortality chiefly to this practice, which often results in the infant's not receiving its mother's breast until too late.

845 Twin births are said to be very rare. Among the Auen and the 847 Heikum one of twins is invariably killed by being buried alive by the mother or one of her attendants immediately after the birth. If the children are of opposite sexes, it is always the boy who is killed in this way. Among the Kung, again, both are buried alive at birth, for it is

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

They are usually directed towards some physical peculiarity, for example, *Eibarab*, the lad with the long face, and *Amgoseb*, the one with the pointed lips. They are often retained throughout life."

Children are nursed by their mothers till about three or even four years old. They cannot be weaned sooner, as there is no suitable food; they begin to taste vegetable foods quite soon, but in order to satisfy their hunger must still have recourse to their mother's breast.

This prolonged weaning is responsible for the custom of infanticide found among the North-Western tribes.[1] Sexual intercourse between the parents is not discontinued until pregnancy is far advanced, and is resumed shortly after the birth. As no preventive means save abortion are known, pregnancies therefore follow in rapid succession during the course of married life, and it often happens that another child, or even two, may be born while the first is still at the breast. In such a case the new child is, as the natives euphemistically put it, "thrown away." Care is taken that the birth takes place in the bush far away from home, and an attempt is made to force it on by massage. But whether alive or stillborn, the infant is buried in the nearest burrow or in a hole in the ground made for the purpose by the old woman who helps the mother.

This practice is generally carried out against the husband's wishes, but the women are adamant in their refusal to rear two children at the same time. They find it impracticable to provide for two children of different ages, both needing the shelter of their kaross, and to be carried on marches, and are determined not to have another child to rear until the first is able to do without their milk and care. In selecting which children shall live, they go merely by the convenient time, not by the health of the infant; several people have physical defects dating from birth, good evidence that deformed children are not necessarily done away with. It follows that only every second or third child is usually weaned, the one or two born in the interval being killed without exception. This practice is not heard of among the Southern or the Namib Bushmen.

In consequence of this custom, as well as of the high infant mortality caused by the natural hardships and strenuous conditions of Bushman life, relatively few children survive, and the families are therefore small. On the average women do not rear more than two or three children, although among the Naron Miss Bleek found one or two

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 99; Kaufmann, op. cit., 136; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 31–2; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.